

ADD 54

DON'T FORGET SOUTH TYROL

THE LOST HOME
BY HANS FINGELLER





THE LOST HOME
SOUTH TYROL

BY HANS FINGELLER
1938



ANDREAS HOFER

The hero of South Tyrol, who led his fellow-countrymen three times to victory, in the struggle against Napoleon's troops in the year 1809

Feelings of the Tyrolese

The Land we from our fathers had in trust,
And to our children will transmit, or die:
This is our maxim, this our piety;
And God and Nature say that it is just.
That which we would perform in arms-we must!
We read the dictate in the infant's eye;
In the wife's smile; and in the placid sky;

And, at our feet, amid the silent dust
Of them that were before us. — Sing aloud
Old songs, the precious music of the heart!
Give, herds and flocks, your voices to the wind!
While we go forth, a self-devoted crowd,
With weapons grasped in fearless hands, to assert
Our virtue, and to vindicate mankind.

William Wordsworth, 1809.

The case of South Tyrol

In 1919 the German-speaking province of South Tyrol, together with the Italian Trentino, was taken from Austria and annexed to the Italian Kingdom under the terms of the secret Treaty of London, signed on April 26th, 1915, where in Italy was promised a strategic frontier on the Brenner watershed.

No plebiscite was held in South Tyrol, and the protests of the German-speaking and Ladin populations were ignored. The results of such a plebiscite, had it been held, would have been a foregone conclusion, as is clear when one glances at the population figures of the last Austrian census held in 1910. The total

native population of South Tyrol was then 245,000, of which 223,000 were German-speaking Tyrolese; 16,000 were Ladins (akin to the Romansch-speaking people of the Swiss Engadine), and only 6,000 were Italians.

When one realizes that in the Trentino at the same time there was a population of 386,000, of which only about 10,000 were Germans, the rest being Italians, it becomes apparent that here was one of the very few places in Europe where a clear-cut language boundary could be drawn along the tops of the mountains, with Tyrolese on the one side and Italians on the other.

Josef Noldin

"I do not want mercy, but justice."

Noldin, lawyer in Salurn, was sent as an exile to Lipary for having favoured German teaching and died in 1929 of as a consequence of the banishment.



Josef Schmid from Algund near Meran whose father fell in the world war fighting against Italy while the son died in Abyssinia in the Italian ranks.



Other South Tyrolese, who lost their lives in the Abyssinian campaign:

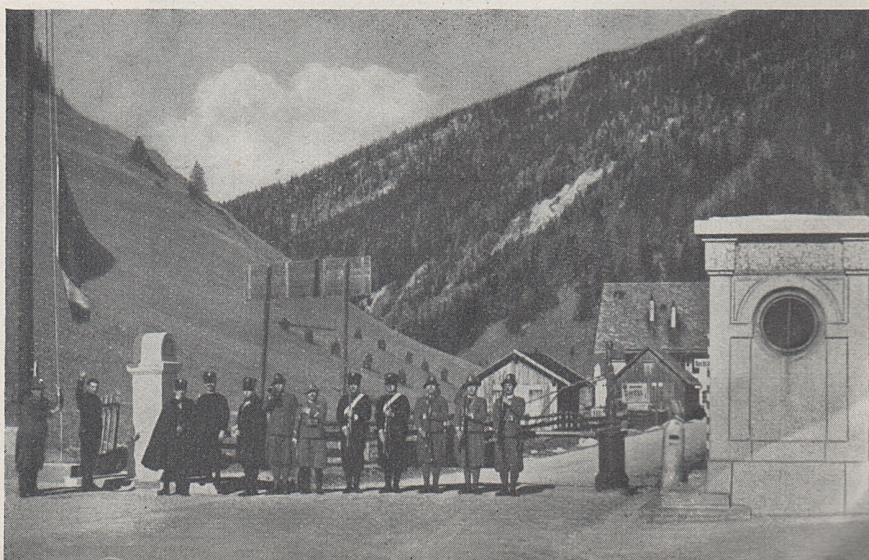
Anton Gasser, Klausen
 Franz Gamper, St. Martin am Kofl
 Alois Fliri, Naturns
 Anton Adami, Terlan
 Michael Pritsch, Naturns
 N. Warner, Bozen
 Josef Plattner, Jenesien
 Karl Tschaup, Vals
 Paul Scartezzini, Meran
 Karl Obkircher, Dorf Tirol
 Josef Christanell, Tartsch
 Franz Kröß, Sarnthein
 Josef Christandl, Taufers, Vinschgau
 Vinzenz Steinhauser, Prettau
 Alois Frank, Neumarkt
 Blasius Leitner, Brixen

Schloß Tirol, now called Castello Tirolo, near Meran, which gave the province its name.



The Defile of Salurn: The most Southerly point of German-speaking Tyrol.

The Brenner. A political frontier for the first time in history.

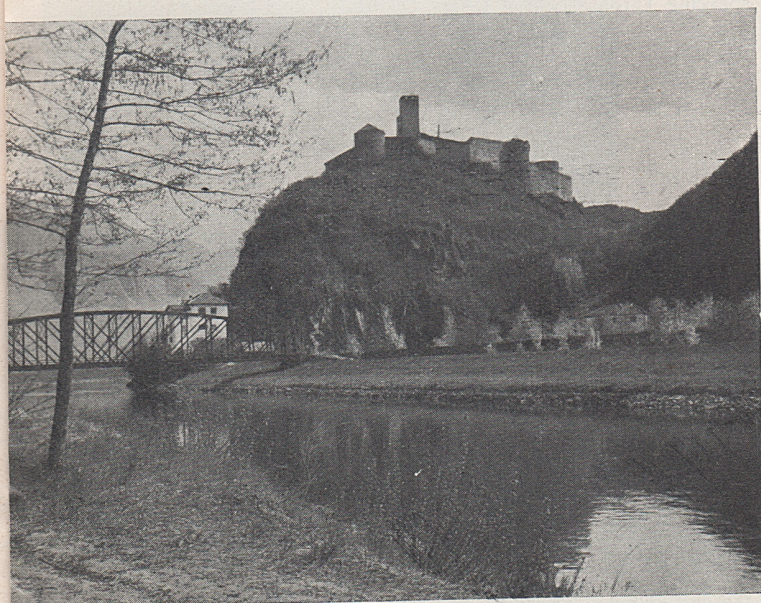




The Ortler (13,000 ft.) from the Reschen Pass.
Before the war, Austria's highest mountain.

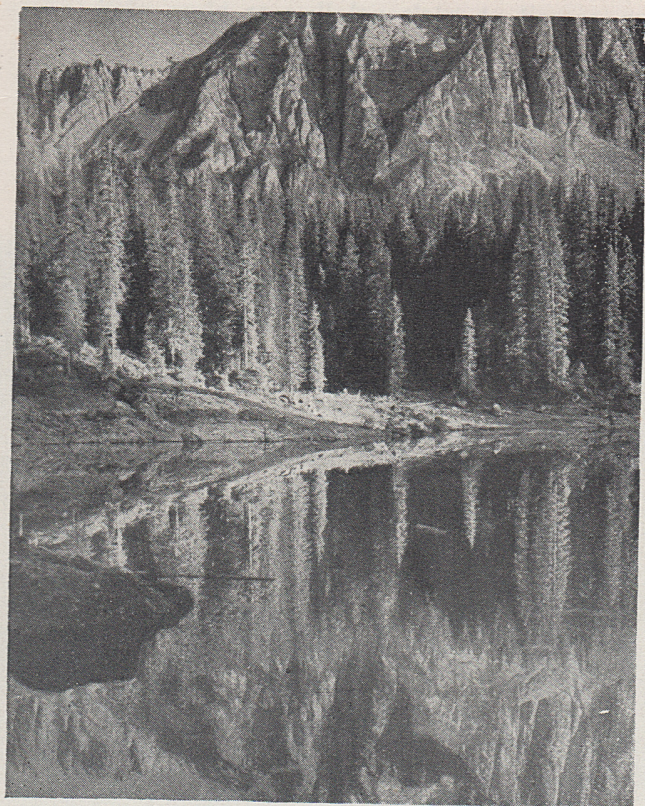
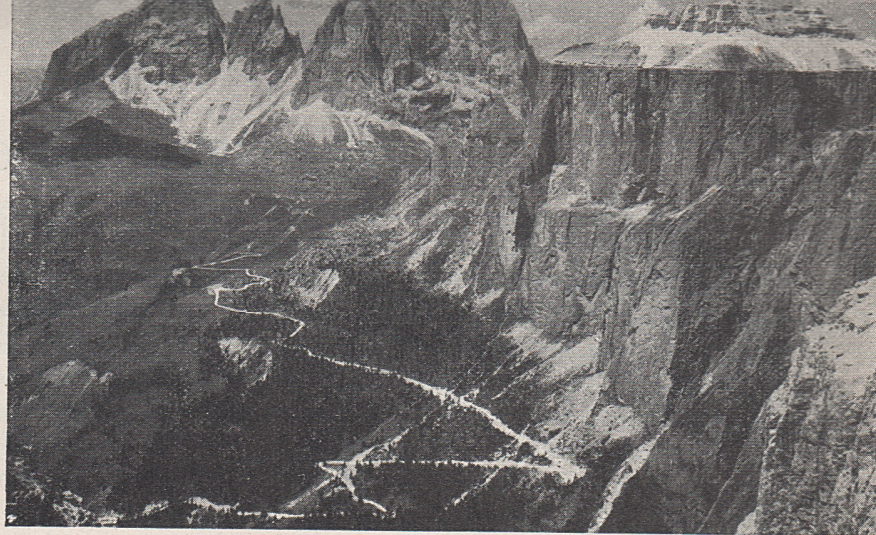


The Drei Zinnen.
The classical group of the Dolomites.



Schloß Sigmundskron

Sella and Langkofl (Dolomites)



The Karersee

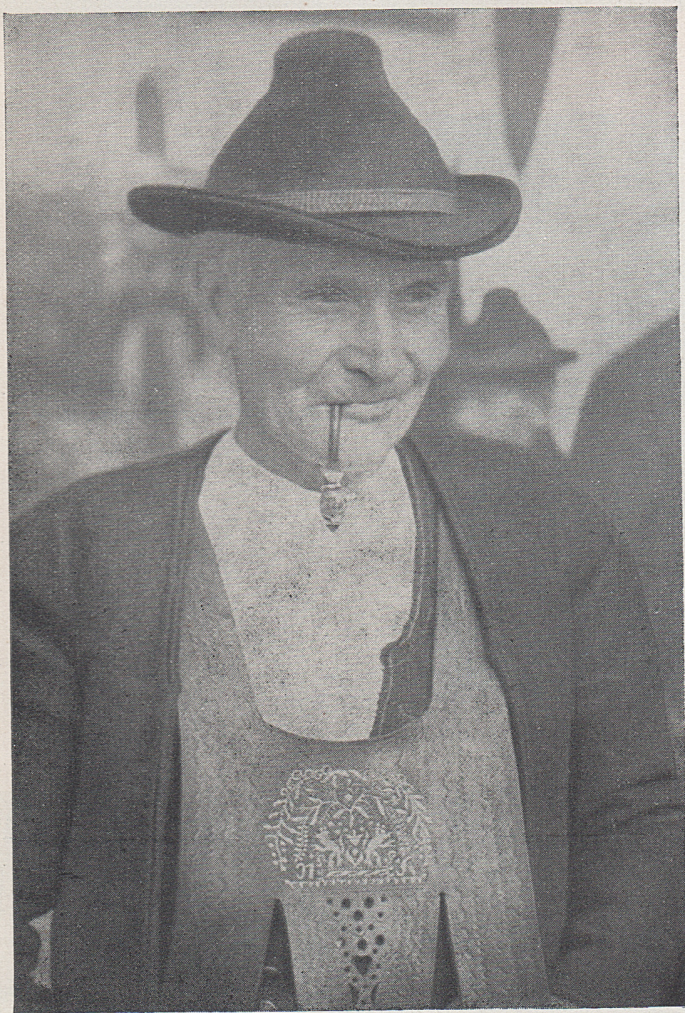
The Ritten near Bozen



MUSSOLINI'S CLAIM

"The Germans in Alto Adige (South Tyrol) are not a national minority, but an ethnical remnant. They total 180,000. Of this number I maintain, 80,000 are Germanized Italians, who, by receiving back their former Italian family names, shall be won back to the race from which they sprang. The others are a remainder of barbarian invasions, in a period when Italy was not yet an independent power, but only the prize ring for the contending powers of the West and North.

**Mussolini, Speech to the Cabinet.
February 6th, 1927.**



Type of a farmer of Sarntal near Bozen

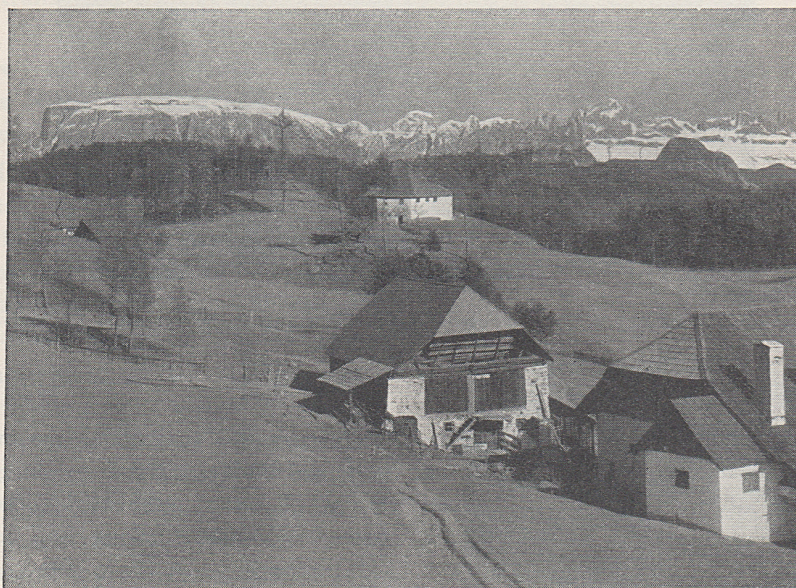


Type of a Fascist Secretary ruling South Tyrolese country towns

THE FACTS

The German-speaking South Tyrolese have been native to South Tyrol for more than thirteen centuries. They settled and lived there long before the birth of an Italian nation in the modern sense of the world. When the Germans first wandered into the valleys of South Tyrol, in the sixth and seventh centuries A. D., they found there an ancient people, the Rhaetians, who during the four centuries of Roman rule had adopted a Latin language. Their descendants still inhabit some of the Dolomite Valleys — and speak a Romansh language, but consider themselves as having a nationality of their own. The rest of South Tyrol was inhabited, until the annexation, by Germans. Italy could as well lay claim to France, as a

former member of the Roman Empire, and to the greater part of Britain, which was under Roman rule the same length of time as South Tyrol. German South Tyrol formed an integral part of the mediaeval German Empire and of Austria for a period which was three times as long as the period under Roman rule. The Brenner and the range of the Alps has never been a political frontier, not even in Roman or pre-Roman times, but rather have the Brenner and Reschen passes always served to unite the district north and south of the watershed. The natural, economic and cultural character of the land is the same North and South of the Brenner, and for more than a thousand years has been occupied by a German people.



Wolfsgruben near Bozen

PROMISES

"The Allied and Associated Powers are of the opinion that the boundary between Italy and Austria, as explained to the Austrian delegation in the Peace terms, must not be changed."

"The Italian Government, as may be gathered from the exceptionally clear statement made by the Italian Prime Minister before the Roman Parliament, intends to pursue a very liberal policy toward their new subjects of German nationality with regard to their language, culture and economic interests."

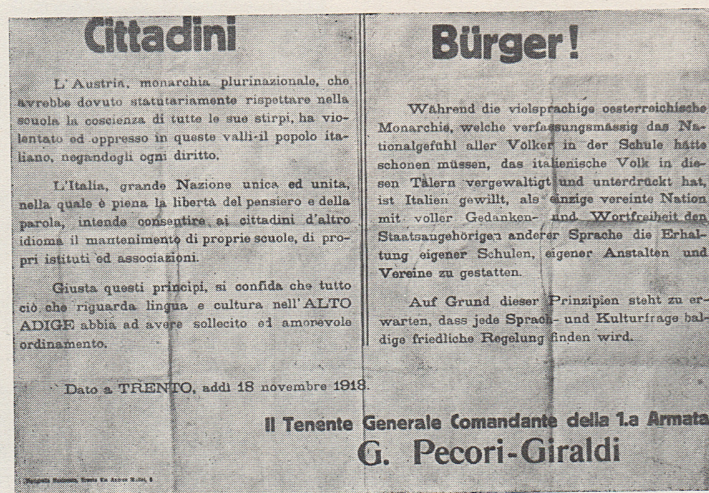
Note of the Allied and Associated Powers of September 2nd, 1919, handed to the Austrian Peace Delegation before signing the Treaty of St. Germain.

entitled to keep their German language of instruction, provided that the curriculum pays due consideration to the honour and rights of Italy."

"The Courts and Administrative authorities will for the time being conduct depositions and records in Italian, as well as in German where the latter language is in general use."

"Citizens!"

"Whereas the Austrian Monarchy, made up as it was of peoples speaking a variety of languages, and which, therefore, should have respected the national sensibilities of all her subjects in the schools, oppressed and tyrannized the Italian people in these valleys, Italy



Part of the proclamation of General Pecori Giraldi on the military occupation of South Tyrol.

"The Italian State, founded as it is on the principles of freedom and justice, herewith proclaims its firm belief in the unchangeable unity of the redeemed territories with the Fatherland; a belief that is shared by Italy and the World. At the same time it will treat its citizens of foreign nationality residing in these territories with justice and consideration."

"Since Italy insists only on the supremacy of her rights and her aspirations in these districts, she rejects every idea of coercing her citizens of other nationality living there. In fact she wishes to establish cordial relations on both sides."

"Districts inhabited by populations of mixed nationality will be allowed their own schools in which both languages will be taught. **The German Population will be permitted to keep their German elementary schools.** Existing private and confessional schools shall be

is nevertheless willing, as the only united nation possessing freedom of thought and speech, to permit citizens of other nationalities the right to keep their own schools, institutions, and associations."

"On the basis of these principles, it is expected that every language and cultural question will soon find a peaceable solution."

Proclamation of General Pecori Giraldi on the annexation of South Tyrol.

"Peoples of other nationalities, who are to be united with us, may be assured that there can be no thought of oppression or denationalization, and that their language and cultural institutions shall enjoy the fullest measure of respect. We can give the population of Alto Adige (South Tyrol) the fullest assurance that a police terror with its persecution and arbitrary rule, such as that endured by the Istrians and Trentinians

under Austrian rule for so many years, shall never be introduced here."

Senator Tittoni, Italian representative at the Peace Conference, September 27, 1919.

"The Italian Government and Parliament will make it a point of honour to give the Germans a large measure of autonomy, since they were annexed only on strategic grounds. They must, once the necessary military safeguards have been taken, feel themselves free and unhindered in the exercise of their cultural and religious needs as well as in their everyday administrative and economic existence. In this way will Italy be true to the old Roman tradition."

Senator Luzzatti, in the Roman Cabinet. 1919

"The annexation of new territories places on Italy

the responsibility of finding solutions for new problems. Our tradition of freedom will point the way to their solution; namely, by showing the greatest consideration for the local autonomous institutions and customs."

King Victor Emanuel, in his speech from the Throne, December 1, 1919.

Here, then, is the question of South Tyrol of special interest to Britain and America. The misgivings of both powers about so flagrant a breach of the principle of self-determination were allayed by these Italian promises at the time of the Peace Treaties assuring full cultural and economic rights to the annexed people.

The fulfilment of these promises

The suppression of the German language

The German language has long been abolished in all official matters, and all cases coming before the Courts and business transacted by the town officials are conducted only in the Italian language.

German lawyers are not even permitted to speak German in the lobbies of the Bozen law courts, or in consultations with their clients.

German notices and proclamations are not allowed. It is considered a crime to use the name "Tyrol" in referring to the province, or to denote villages and towns by their ancient German names. Even the use of German inscriptions on tombstones is strictly forbidden and existing inscriptions are often italianized.

A law passed on January 10, 1926, forcibly changed a large number of German family names into Italian ones. In accordance with this law 1043 German family names in South Tyrol were Italianized in the year 1935, and 1136 in the year 1936. For example, the family Ploner (Enneberg) has four different family names. The four brothers, living in four different localities, bear the names: Ploner, Piazza, Perani and Piana.

Other examples include: Tanzer - Ballerini, Pfeifer - Faiferini.

No German is allowed on gravestones.

The words „Hier ruhen die unschuldigen Kinder . . . geb. . . . und am . . . gest.“ („Here rest the innocent children . . . born . . . and died on the . . .“) were painted over by order of the authorities.



The destruction of the German educational system



Josefine Leitner
imprisoned for teaching
German

All the Kindergartens have been Italianized. Approximately 400 German elementary schools with 700 classes in all have been transformed into Italian schools, where German is not even tolerated as subject of instruction.

German was taught as a foreign language three hours weekly in some of the secondary schools until recently. This year, however, it has been replaced by French or English. To discourage prospective students from studying at German universities, special permission to attend must first be secured. The German language courses for elementary schools, promised in the year 1935, have been provided after a fashion, but only in the cities of Bozen, Meran and Brixen, in spite of the fact that 28,000 German school children out of 30,000 petitioned for these courses. Even this has become a farce, however, since the instruction is given only by Italian teachers, using Italian as the language of instruction.

Private instruction in German is punishable with heavy fines, and recently the following have been found guilty and fined:

Josefine Leitner, Villnöss, 2075 lire.

Rosa Tragkofler, Pfalzen, 1000 lire.

Zita Spechtenhauser, Bruneck, 1000 lire and 2 years police supervision.

Lorenz Brugger, St. Georgen, 1000 lire.

Maria Padöller, Deutschnofen, 500 lire and 2 years police supervision.

Maria Oberkofler, Steinhaus, 1000 lire.

Elise Plankensteiner, Oberwielenbach, 1000 lire.

Barbara Gamper, Feldthurns, 1000 lire.

The first-named, Frl. Josefina Leitner, was imprisoned for two months and four days, because she was unable to raise the fine. In addition to the above, Fräulein Antonia Menardi of Mals was kept in prison for three weeks, and Franz Purtscher of Pfelders for four weeks, while awaiting preliminary examination.

Lending libraries, cafés and bookshops are compelled to match every German newspaper, book or magazine in stock, with an Italian one.

Lectures and theatre performances conducted in German are generally prevented, and films with a German text are forbidden, while the cafés are prohibited from tuning in to a German broadcast.

Giuseppe Lombardo Radice, Chief Commissioner in charge of Schools had, at a time when Italy still talked of protecting foreign nationals under her rule, condemned the use of the very repressive measures now employed by Italy against the Germans of South Tyrol: "The ruling nationality aims at imposing uniformity by destroying the national consciousness of its unwilling subjects. It strives to root out this consciousness by forbidding them the use of their native language.

"It is a fiendishly ingenious aim, and pursued with progressive and premeditated terror; it is all the more inhuman the more civilised the nationals on whose living flesh the Alchemist practises the cowardly art with which he hopes to transmute the blood of the people."



South Tyrolese Children



The General Secretary of the Fascist party Achille Starace in front of the school in Bozen which he „conquered“ in person on the 2nd October 1922. On this building is still to be seen the portrait of the mediaeval minstrel Walther von der Vogelweide.



The above relief of Walther von der Vogelweide is scratched out.



Dragooned into foreign uniform.

Contempt for local traditions

A whole series of German monuments have been destroyed, especially those whose presence might serve to remind the people of Tyrol of the heroic resistance offered by their forefathers to the invaders of the year 1809 and in the World War.

On the foundations of the unfinished memorial in Bozen to the soldiers of the Tyrolese Kaiserjäger regiment who fell in the World War has been erected a gigantic monument to Italian victory, adorned with the busts of three deserters from the Austrian army intended, no doubt, to be a particularly impressive reminder to the German population of their misfortunes.

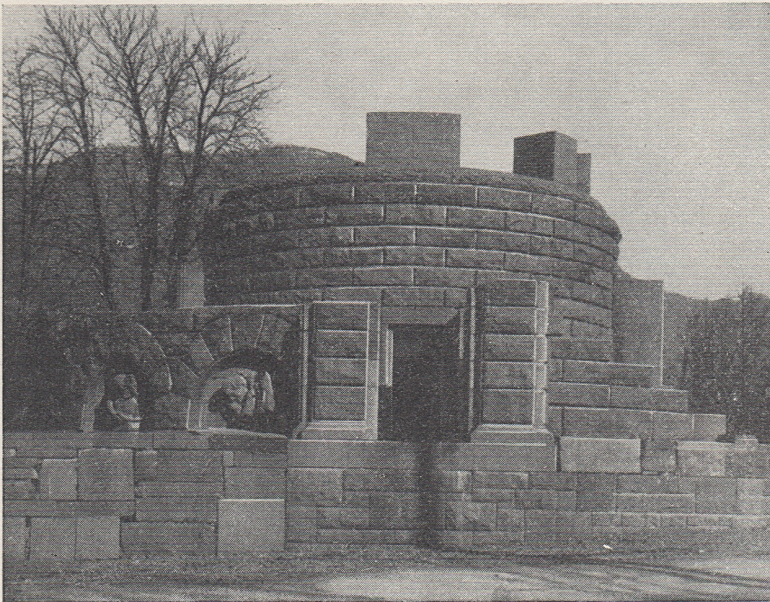
Among the memorials destroyed are: the monument of the champion of Tyrolese independence, Balthazar Trogmann in Untermais, the Laurin's fountain in Bozen, the war memorials in Brixen and Bruneck, the monument of the Grand Duke Henry of Gries near Bozen, a series of bronze tablets commemorating the history of Tyrol, and the busts of famous Tyrolese in Meran. The monuments of Andreas Hofer and the Empress Elizabeth of Meran were damaged. A public lavatory today marks the place in Bruneck where stood the war memorial. The monument of Walter von der Vogelweide was removed from its place on the Walterplatz in Bozen. The German inscriptions on the

statue of St. Mary in Bruneck were chiselled out. The monument honouring the memory of the Minnesinger, Hans der Sager, in Latsch (Vinschgau) was Italianized. This German minnesinger has been renamed 'Giovanni il dicitore'. The life-size statue of the 'Maiden of Spinges', Katherina Lanz (1797) has been removed from Buchenstein to the Italian war museum in Rovereto.

German street names have been rechristened with the names of Italian notabilities or cities. New buildings must be Italian in style and buildings predominantly nordic in style, like the museum in Bozen, have sometimes been remodelled in the Italian style of architecture.

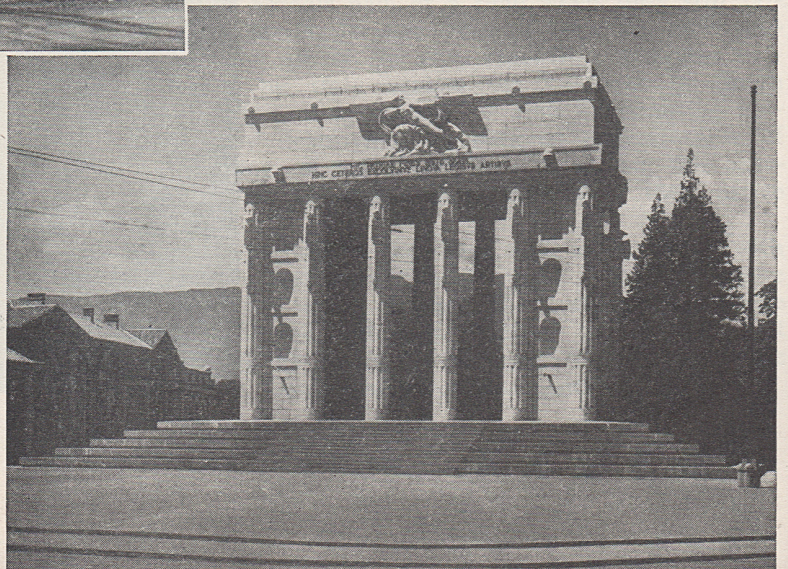
But if someone outside Italy touches an Italian monument, violent protests are at once raised. When someone in Trau, Jugo-Slavia, damaged a number of stone Venetian lions, in the year 1933, Mussolini wrote in the *Popolo d'Italia*:

"Monuments have indisputable historical value. They constitute documents of the history of mankind, apart from their aesthetic and artistic value, and must be revered. Ancient mementoes of Cultures, Peoples or Nationalities, even though not native to the rulers of the land, must yet be respected."



The unfinished Tiroler Kaiserjäger Regiment's war memorial in Bozen which was removed.

The Italian memorial to victory erected on the site of the Kaiserjäger memorial, containing busts of three deserters from the Austrian army.





In the military cemetery on the Naßwand near Toblach an Italian inscription is affixed, which gives the impression, that the sons of Tyrol fought on Italy's side and not against her.



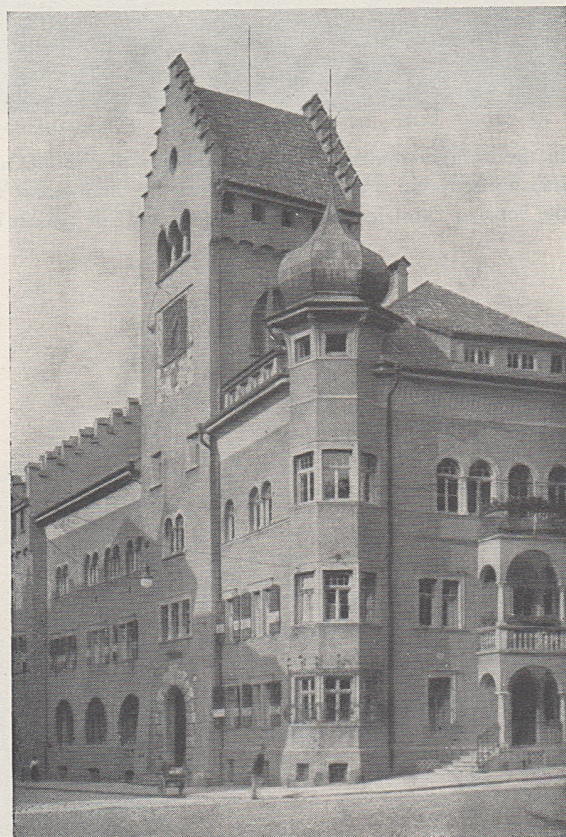
On this grave-cross of an Austrian soldier the Christian name „Josef“ has been Italianized to Gius. (Giuseppe).



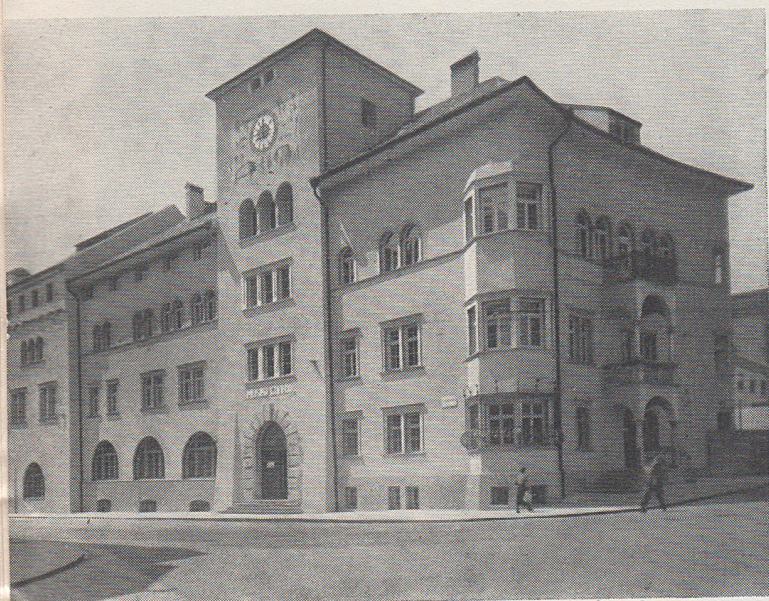
The minnesinger, Hans der Sager, is now called „Giovanni il Dicitore“.



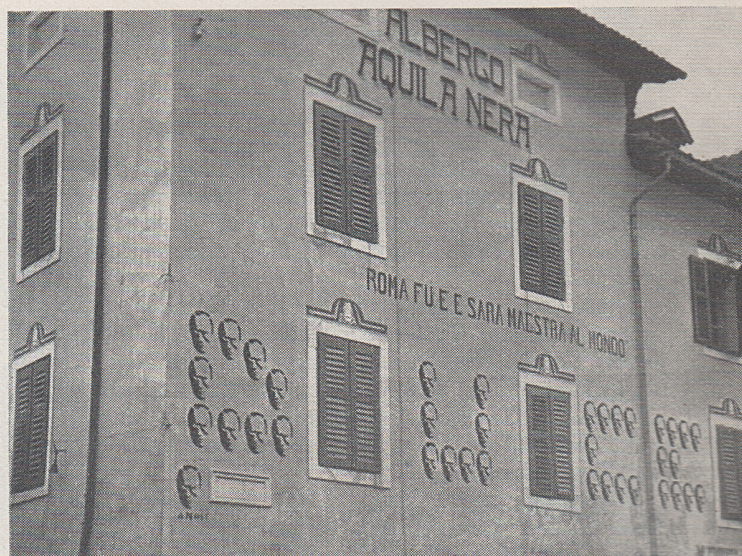
Sterzing under foreign flag.



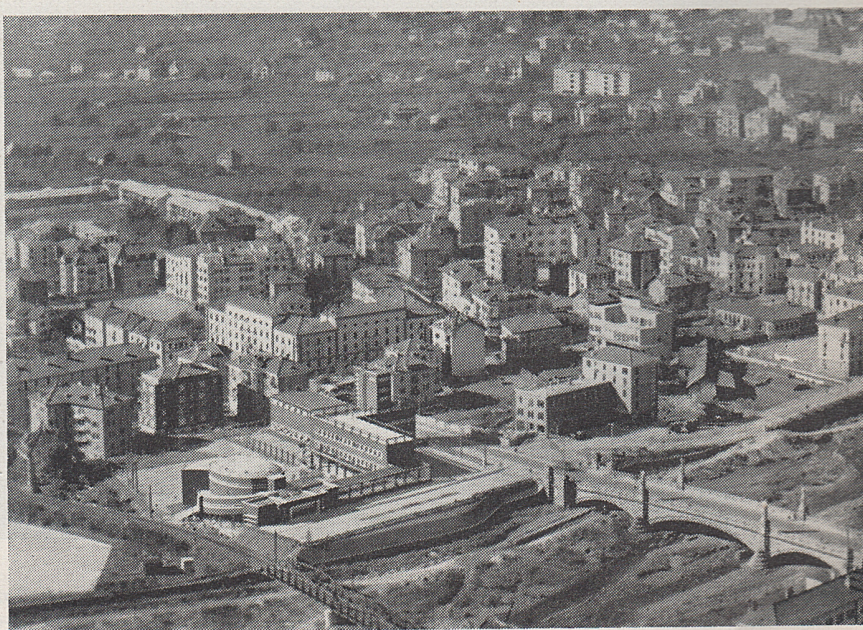
The Gothic tower of the Bozen Museum looked too Nordic, so it had to be removed with a view to replacing it with an Italian one.



Houses are frequently bespattered with faces of Mussolini.



House in the Italian style built near Bozen to house Italian colonists.



New Italian quarter of Bozen

Expulsion of Tyrolese and settlement of the land with Italians

To date, the Exile Commission of Bozen has banished 155 German South Tyrolese from the province, principally in the years 1934 to 1936; hundreds of others have been warned and placed under police supervision.

These exiles include the former Member of Parliament, Dr. Paul Freiherr von Sternbach; lawyer Dr. Josef Noldin, Salurn; the superintendent of schools, Rudolf Riedl of Tramin; Dr. Kiener; and the clergy of Suldén, Steinhaus in Ahrntale, Ultén and Lüsén.

At the end of May, 1936, there were still 70 South Tyrolese in exile.

Moreover, more than 1,500 South Tyrolese left their homes and families rather than assist an alien fatherland to 'civilise' Abyssinia.

To compel the departure of Tyrolese, taxes are raised to a point where they can no longer be paid. Their properties are then sold to pay off arrears of taxes. The government has even founded a bank (Ente per la Rinascita delle Tre Venezie in Venice) for the purpose of buying up properties for which taxes are overdue. These properties are then rented, for the most part, to Italians at exceptionally low rentals.

Properties selling under the hammer are sold to Italian bidders even though outbid by prospective Ger-

man buyers, in accordance with a special law (1935) for South Tyrol, whereby every transfer of real property in the province must first have the consent of the political and military authorities.

In order to facilitate the Italianization of Bozen, the provincial capital, the Government has established an industrial zone on the site of the best vineyards and orchards, and brought in thousands of Italian workers.

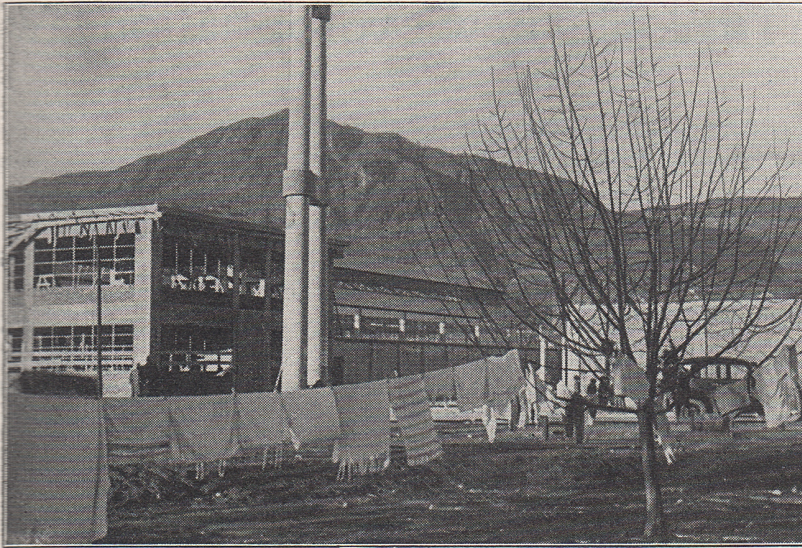
The reason for the establishment of this factory zone, according to a declaration made by the Italian Ministerial Council on February 20, 1935, is the 'important political interests' intimately connected therewith. Four large industries, the Lancia Automobile Company, the Acciaieria Italian Steel Works, an Aluminium factory and a paper factory have been set up here.

Other measures, intended to hasten the Italianization of the province, are the establishment of the headquarters of an Army corps, many garrisons and the erection of numerous military works.

Sterzing, with a population of 2,000 inhabitants, has a garrison of 3,000 men.

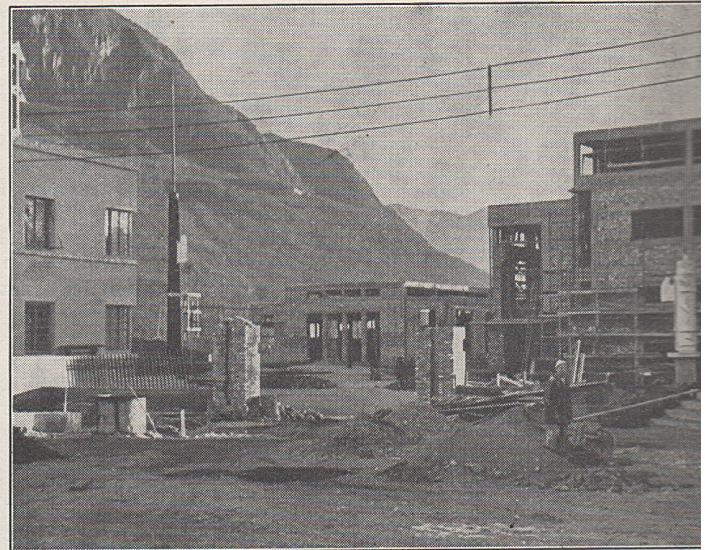


A year ago in the spring there still billowed a sea of bloom from Bozen across to the Etsch through the whole Grutzen where to day factory chimneys smoke.



„Latin culture„ in a typical sense. A pear tree was spared and serves to hang washing on.

At the inauguration of the industrial zone on the 20st of September 1935 the erection of numerous Liktor-bundles was more important than the completion of the buildings.



Factories grew over night out of the ground which had borne until then fruit trees and grapevines.

The latest blow in South Tirol. The new expropriation law

REGIO DECRETO-LEGGE 7 gennaio 1937-XV, n. 82.

Disposizioni sul funzionamento dell'Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie.

VITTORIO EMANUELE III

PER GRAZIA DI DIO E PER VOLONTÀ DELLA NAZIONE

RE D'ITALIA

IMPERATORE D'ETIOPIA

Veduto Part. 3, n. 2, della legge 31 gennaio 1926, n. 100;

Veduto il R. decreto 8 settembre 1921, n. 1343, col quale l'Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie è stato riconosciuto a tutti gli effetti di legge;

Veduto il R. decreto-legge 5 giugno 1933, n. 730, sulla formazione della piccola proprietà coltivatrice e di organiche unità rurali nelle Venezie;

Ritenuta la necessità urgente ed assoluta di emanare disposizioni per rendere più agevole ed efficace l'attività dell'Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie, ai fini dell'esecuzione del citato R. decreto-legge 5 giugno 1933, n. 730;

Sentito il Consiglio dei Ministri;

Sulla proposta del Nostro Ministro Segretario di Stato per l'agricoltura e per le foreste, di concerto con i Ministri per la grazia e giustizia e per le finanze;

Abbiamo decretato e decretiamo:

Art. 1.

L'Ente di rinascita agraria per le Tre Venezie può chiedere il trasferimento in sua proprietà di immobili a chiunque appartengano, quando appaiano suscettibili di essere utilizzati per i fini che l'Ente persegue in conformità dello statuto approvato con R. decreto 14 agosto 1931, n. 1188, per l'esecuzione del R. decreto-legge 5 giugno 1933, n. 730, convertito nella legge 21 dicembre 1933, n. 1877, sulla formazione della piccola proprietà coltivatrice e di organiche unità rurali nelle Venezie.

Art. 2.

La sussistenza delle condizioni previste dall'articolo precedente per il trasferimento di proprietà è dichiarata dal

Photographic reproduction of the expropriation decree in the „Gazzetta Ufficiale“

The Gazzetta Ufficiale No. 40 of February 17, 1937, publishes the Decree-law of January 7th, No. 82, which empowers the semi-official bank in Venice, the "E. R. A." (Ente di Rinascita Agraria per le Tre Venezie) to carry out the expropriation of any landed property which it thinks fit.

Article 1 of the law enacts:

"The Institute for agricultural reconstruction in the Tre Venezie (E. R. A.) can demand the transfer of real property (houses and land) from their present owners, if such a transfer should appear to further the aims pursued by the Institute in the carrying out of the law relating to the formation of small peasant holdings and organic agricultural units in the provinces of the Tre Venezie."

This is the most drastic measure yet taken against the Germans of South Tyrol, as it aims at driving them from their farms and lands and replacing them by Italians.

What is sauce for the goose, however, is not sauce for the gander:

"...Our relations with Switzerland are beyond reproach and will remain so. Our only wish is that the Italian character of the Canton Ticino be preserved and strengthened."

Mussolini, October 6, 1934. Mussolini's interview with French reporter.

The aim

"This danger I saw in South Tyrol. Everything there was German, officials, teachers, priests, post office and railwaymen. Only German was spoken, and songs were sung that in Rome would have meant immediate arrest.

"I have put things straight there. Over the whole district, the Italian language is now obligatory, all post office and railway officials are Italians; Italian families are being settled everywhere; we want to send 10,000 families of former soldiers to colonise the country.

"We have settled 400 Italian families in Meran, and another 100 are working in the neighbourhood.

"The land must become Italian."

Extract from Interview of Mussolini with a representative of the „Petit Parisien" on Feb. 27, 1926.

"Our aim is the denationalisation of the German population of Alto Adige (South Tyrol)."

The Minister of Education Casati, August 18, 1924.

"We shall continue methodically and unflinchingly to apply all laws, including those to be adopted in the future, in order to Italianise those regions, because they are geographically and historically Italian.

"Fascist Italy can when necessary even carry the

tricolour across the frontier — back from the Brenner never!"

Mussolini, Address to the Cabinet, Feb. 6, 1926.

"The Fascist youth will never retreat from the Brenner. They will, when necessary, carry the banner across the Brenner."

Mazzolini, Vice-general secretary of the Fascist Party, Brixen, March 1, 1926.

"The Brenner is not the goal, it is only the starting point."

Point 3 of the political catechism of the „Guardia al Brennero".

"The eagles of Rome will only take off from the Brenner, in order to carry the glory of Imperial Italy ever forward."

Resolution of the Fascist Party Congress in Trient, March 1, 1926.

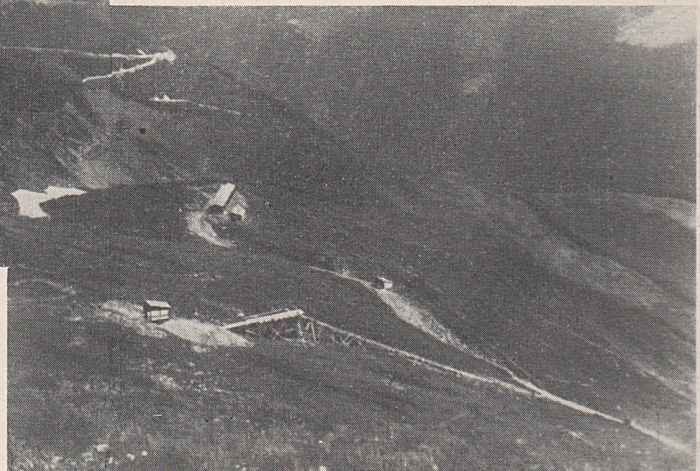
"Our policy, having for its aim the revival of the Italian spirit, in the border provinces where it was never completely extinguished, particularly in the two provinces of Venezia Tridentina and Venezia Giulia, is making a very satisfactory progress."

Fedele, Minister of Education, in his address to the Senate, June, 1927.



Italian fortifications?

Works to secure the frontier — against whom?



THE VOICE OF TYROL

"The Community, herewith, solemnly protests against any move to annex our province, which is not preceded by a plebiscite in every district. It further protests against the claim that the overwhelming part of the population wishes to be annexed to Italy. In particular does it protest against the annexation of any district, inhabited principally by Germans or Ladiners, for there cannot be the slightest doubt that both these wish to remain within the Austrian State as inseparable parts of the province Tyrol."

Each of the 180 Communities in South Tyrol subscribed to this resolve, at Bozen, November 4, 1918.

"Mr. President, you have proclaimed the principle of the self-determination of peoples. You, who have proclaimed a new world order, will not permit the 200,000 Germans, living together as a solid community in the South Tyrol, to be denationalised. This would sow hate instead of love. Do not permit our land to go through another 'Anno 1809', so that it will be forced to tear asunder the chains that are being forged for it. You, as an American, as successor of the Father of Liberty, George Washington, can understand that liberty is the most precious possession which a people has, and that a free people will prefer to perish rather than suffer the shame of enslavement. Tyrol is for Italy only another piece of territory; for us, however, this, the only bit of German soil blessed with the warm sun of the south, is a part of our German homeland, of our very existence itself."

Joint Petition of the 180 Communities to Woodrow Wilson, February, 1919.

"The Kingdom of Italy has established no historic or national rights to South Tyrol, but demanded and received the annexation of South Tyrol solely on strategic grounds."

"Since geographic lines, however, have never been recognised as delimiting national frontiers, and since the Brenner has never in the course of its history formed a national or territorial frontier; and since geographic formations have never been deemed a sufficient cause for the partition of a country; and since strategic demands could have been satisfied in another way; we hold, therefore, that South Tyrol must always regard the refusal to observe her right to self-determination as an act of oppression against which, in sending her deputies to the Roman parliament, she is in duty bound solemnly to protest, and wishes it understood that the sending of deputies is in no way a recognition of the wrong done, nor shall it prejudice her right to a future revision."

Excerpt from the „Reservations” of the elected deputies representing South Tyrol, on their entrance into the Roman parliament, 1921.

The elections

1921

German Union Party (German Bourgeois Parties)	36,574 votes
German Social Democrats	3,993 „
	<hr/> 40,567 votes

No Italian candidate stood for election.

1924.

German Union Party	34,983 votes
Fascist	3,000 „

Mass petitions of school children

Mussolini had promised the Austrian Chancellor, at Florence in the spring of 1935, that he would permit German language courses to be taught in all those schools of South Tyrol, where it would be requested by the children.

In September, 1935, approximately 28,000 school children out of 30,000 German children handed the Fascist Cultural Office in Bozen requests for permission to attend such German language courses.

[illegible]

Güdtiroler!

Mit dem heutigen Tage ist die Einverleibung Südtirols in das Königreich Italien vollzogene Tatsache. Damit ist das alte Land Tirol in zwei Teile zerrissen. Südtirol ist das Opfer des Friedensvertrages geworden, der uns trotz des feierlich verkündeten Selbstbestimmungsrechtes von unseren Volksgenossen losreißt.

Wir Südtiroler haben die unerschütterliche Hoffnung, daß der Tag kommen wird, an welchem uns Gerechtigkeit und weißschauende Politik die nationale Befreiung bringen werden. Südtiroler! Aufrecht wollen wir den heutigen Tag über uns ergehen lassen! Wir fordern Euch auf, jede Ungeßlichkeit zu vermeiden und mit Ruhe und Würde das Schicksal zu tragen.

Südtirol, 10. Oktober 1920.

Die deutschfrei- Die sozialdemokr. Die Tiroler Volks-
 Volkspartei. Partei in Südtirol. partei.

The protest of all South Tyrolese parties on the day
of the annexation

REVISION

"The revision of the peace treaties is not principally an Italian but a European interest. This will no longer be considered absurd and impracticable the moment one begins to consider the possibilities of revision present in the constitution of the League of Nations itself. But the demand for the permanency of the treaties is absurd."

Mussolini in a speech, October 27, 1930.

"The people of the Trentino will resist being coupled together with the Germans of Tyrol; for they are of the Italian race while the latter are pure German and wish to remain German.

"I do not believe that the German Tyrol, the fatherland of that Andreas Hofer who fought and who stirred up his land to stubborn resistance against those flags which embodied the revolution of 1789, can ever be a worthwhile annexation for the Italian state. The South Tyrol will always be a thorn in the side of Italy."

Leonida Bissolati, in Lombardy, 1919.

"Already the President had, unfortunately, promised the Brenner Pass boundary to Orlando, which gave to Italy some 150,000 (really 230,000 — Ed.) Tyrolese Germans — an action which he subsequently regarded as a great mistake and deeply regretted. It had been done before he had made the careful study of the

subject he was now engaged upon and was due to Orlando's pleading for a strategic frontier. Perhaps he also thought that a concession in the Alps might mitigate Italian claims in the Adriatic; but the Italians wanted both."

Ray Stannard Baker, Woodrow Wilson and World Settlementt, Vol. II, page 146. He was Wilson's publicity man at the Peace Conference.

"There is no explanation for the fact that the President had already, at the beginning of the Conference, permitted 230,000 Tyrolese to come under Italian rule in fearful violation of his fundamental principle."

Harold Nicolson in his diary ,Peace Making, 1919'.

"I have never been enthusiastic about the Tyrol frontier. The act of tearing out of Tyrol the birthplace of its beloved hero, Andreas Hofer, and for ever annexing it to another country, could only result in endless anger and dissatisfaction."

Lloyd George, 1926.

"In this connection, one must admit quite openly: It is practically an impossibility to find a place along any of the numerous disputed boundaries of Europe where a clean cut would have separated one nationality from another; with the one exception, namely in the South Tyrol and on the Italian boundary along the Isonzo."

Prof. Seton-Watson, in the Slavonic Review, London, 1935.

THE DEMANDS

"As a native Tyrolese, I must protest most strongly against shoving the South Tyrol question into the background and treating it as a question of secondary importance, as if the problem was no longer of any importance to us. We Tyrolese can never abandon our demands! The disposition of South Tyrol in the treaty of St. Germain will ever be for us an injustice to our land which will some day have to be rectified."

Dr. Stumpf, former Austrian Governor of Tyrol, in a speech to the Tyrol Peasant League, May, 1932.

The inhabitants of South Tyrol in 1918 solemnly protested against the annexation of their land by the kingdom of Italy. They carried their protests over ice-covered mountains in order to lay them before

the peace conference. A deaf ear was turned to them. Their deputies, on their entrance into the Roman parliament, handed in a reservation of rights, and the people of South Tyrol have again and again called attention to the fact that a solution of this question is an absolute necessity in the interest of European Peace.

To-day, after 18 years of Italian rule, after the bitter experiences which the German population has endured at the hands of the ruling race, which has sought to exterminate it, the people of Tyrol reject Italian sovereignty even more decisively than they did at the time of the world war.

The people of South Tyrol therefore demand a plebiscite.



A bitter contrast:

While the Tyrolean peasants show the true character of the country, above them a fascist inscription
„We are dreaming of the Roman Italy” expresses the will of the new rulers.

A DIFFERENT PICTURE

The Trentino under Austrian rule

Up to the year 1918 there lived in the vicinity of Trient, in the southernmost part of ancient Tyrol 385,700 Italians. Their political and cultural existence was regulated by the Austrian Constitution of 1867:

"Art. 19. All nationalities are considered equal and every nationality has an inalienable right to the protection and cultivation of its nationality and language.

"The State recognises the equality of every language spoken in the country, whether officially, publicly, or in the schools.

"In those provinces where a number of nationalities live side by side, it is further provided that courses shall be offered in the schools, giving the respective nationalities, without recourse to any pressure whatsoever, the opportunity to learn a second language, should they so desire."

The national existence of the non-German Tyrolese was free and secure, as shown by the following summary of their rights.

(a) Political Rights.

The Italians were privileged to elect representatives to the Imperial Reichsrat and to the Tyrol Landtag. The Italian deputies held relatively more mandates in the Vienna Parliament than did the Austrian Germans themselves. They were permitted to develop their political life through parties and mass-meetings, without any restrictions.

Italian officials were used by Austria, in the Administration and the Courts (95%). The Italians in Trient had their own division of the provincial government and their own branch of the Provincial Cultural Council, where all matters were transacted in the Italian language.

Trient and Rovereto and the other Italian Communities possessed written charters guaranteeing them local selfgovernment. Moreover, there were Italian Chambers of Commerce and Italian associations, including of the lawyers and physicians.

Austria tolerated Italian societies of every kind. The 'Lega Nazionale', an Italian Protective Society, had 70 branches with 12,000 members in the Italian-Tyrol. There were Italian sport clubs, Alpine clubs, Italian social organisations of every kind, workers and peasant societies, and societies for Italian teachers and officials.

The Italian press had full liberty of development under Austrian rule. There were Italian dailies as well as numerous weekly journals and periodicals.

(b) Language.

Austria tolerated the use of the Italian language in the Vienna Reichsrat and in the Innsbruck Landtag (Parliament).

Austria recognised the Italian language in the non-German parts of Tyrol as the language of common intercourse.

All laws and administrative orders there were published in the Italian language. All official business was conducted in Italian, even when it involved a dispute between two Germans.

Austria respected Italian names of towns and places, while family names were left strictly alone.

(c) Schools.

Austria provided Kindergartens, elementary and secondary schools for the Italian Tyrol. These consisted of 489 elementary schools having 1,177 classes, three gymnasias (high schools), two technical high schools, a Lyzeum, a commercial high school, teachers' colleges, industrial schools, business schools, trades schools, agricultural training schools, and numerous private schools.

Italian private instruction was absolutely unrestricted; and private instruction by tutors in the home was permitted in lieu of school attendance.

The local as well as district school boards had only Italian members. They also had representation in the Provincial School Commission. The Universities of Innsbruck and Graz provided lectures in the Italian language for Italian students of law and medicine, and examinations were held in Italian.